

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

EB-11 COME-00 CEQ-02 SCI-06 SCEM-02 EPA-04 DRC-01

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P R 151604Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7245

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 3821

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR NATO NO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: NORWEGIAN CONCERNS OVER THE
STATE OF THE DIALOGUE

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE NORWEGIANS ARE CLEARLY UNHAPPY WITH
THE BANDWAGON SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION
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THAT EMERGED IN THE OCTOBER 10 NAC. DURING A LENGTHY DIS-
CUSSION OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS ON OCTOBER 12, FOREIGN
MINISTRY SECRETARY GENERAL GJELLUM AND POLITICAL DIRECTOR
GENERAL VIBE OUTLINED THEIR CONCERNS TO ME AND INDICATED

THEY WOULD HAVE MUCH PREFERRED TO WORK FROM CANADIAN DRAFT. THEY NATURALLY HOPE AS NON-EC MEMBERS THAT NATO DECLARATION WILL BE AS COMPREHENSIVE AS POSSIBLE. THEY SEE THE FRENCH DRAFT AS HAVING A DECIDED COLD WAR FLAVOR WHICH WOULD MAKE PRESENTATION TO NORWEGIAN PUBLIC DIFFICULT. THEY ARE ALSO TROUBLED BY A "GAULLIST" IMPLICATION THAT EUROPEANS HAVE UNIQUE DEFENSE PROBLEMS, WHICH COULD CUT ACROSS ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY AND ENCOURAGE DEVELOPMENT OF SEPARATE EUROPEAN DEFENSE STRUCTURE.

WHILE NORWEGIANS WILL AGREE RELUCTANTLY TO USE THE FRENCH DRAFT, THEY FEEL MAJOR CHANGES AND ADDITIONS WILL BE REQUIRED. ON TWO OF THESE IN PARTICULAR I HOPE WE CAN BE FORTHCOMING: (A) BY TABLING A LOWEST-COMMON-DENOMINATOR PROVISION, ACCEPTABLE TO OUR SOUTHERN FLANK ALLIES ON SUPPORT FOR "DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES," TO HEAD OFF EFFORT BY BRATTELI GOVERNMENT TO TABLE A MORE POINTED FORMULATION; AND (B) BY ACCOMMODATING NORWEGIAN VIEWS REGARDING COOPERATION IN SUCH MATTERS AS COMMERCE, ENERGY, AND ENVIRONMENT. END SUMMARY

1. AS THE OCTOBER 12 MEETING TO DISCUSS ATLANTIC RELATIONS HAD BEEN ARRANGED AT OUR INITIATIVE BY WAY OF PREPARATION FOR THE CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE, I OFFERED TO POSTPONE IT BUT TOP MINISTRY OFFICIALS SAID THEY WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE THEIR CONCERN OVER THE DIRECTION THE ATLANTIC DIALOGUE IS TAKING. WE (INCLUDING DCM AND POLOFF) THUS DEVOTED OVER AN HOUR TO MEETING WITH GJELLUM, VIBE, AND NATO DIVISION CHIEF FREIHOW.

2. GJELLUM RECALLED THAT NORWAY HAD GIVEN PROMPT SUPPORT TO THE KISSINGER INITIATIVE LAST APRIL, THOUGH IT HAD HOPED DISCUSSIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN NATO AND THEIR WOULD BE ONLY ONE DECLARATION. SINCE THERE WILL BE AT LEAST TWO, IT IS IMPORTANT TO NORWAY THAT NATO DECLARATION BE AS COMPREHENSIVE AS POSSIBLE AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE POSITIVE IMAGE OF NATO THAT EXISTS IN NORWAY. GJELLUM AND VIBE
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BOTH UNDERSCORED IN LATTER CONNECTION THE FACT THAT FAR LEFT ANTI-NATO FORCES WILL HAVE 16-MAN BLOC IN THE PARLIAMENT.

3. U.S.-EC DECLARATION: GJELLUM SAID THE EC DRAFT--AS VIBE TOLD ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESEL IN WASHINGTON IN LATE SEPTEMBER--APPEARS SOMEWHAT EGOCENTRIC AND SEEMS TO MONOPOLIZE ATLANTIC RELATIONS. VIBE ELABORATED THAT NORWAY PARTICULARLY HOPES WE CAN AMEND PARAGRAPH 5 (TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT CANADA, TOO, MUST REMAIN CLOSELY LINKED TO THE U.S. AND EUROPE) AND PARAGRAPHS 9 AND 11 (TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE NON-EC MEMBERS OF NATO HAVE A ROLE, ALONG WITH "THE NINE AND THE U.S.," IN WORKING FOR A MORE STABLE WORLD ORDER AND FOR DETENTE AND COOPERATION WITH THE EAST).

4. NATO DECLARATION: GJELLUM SAID THE CANADIAN DRAFT IS QUITE COMPREHENSIVE AND THAT NORWAY HAD BEEN PLEASED WITH IT. THE FRENCH DRAFT, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS MUCH TOO RESTRICTIVE, IN THAT IT DEALS MOSTLY WITH DEFENSE AND ONLY INDIRECTLY WITH DETENTE. WHEREAS NORWAY HAS NEVER CONSIDERED NATO A PURELY MILITARY ORGANIZATION BUT LOOKS UPON IT AS AN ORGANIZATION FOR PROMOTING ATLANTIC COOPERATION AND DETENTE, THE FRENCH DRAFT GIVES A COLD WAR IMAGE OF NATO, PORTRAYING IT ONLY AS AN ORGANIZATION AIMED AT STOPPING AGGRESSION.

GJELLUM SAID PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF SUCH A DECLARATION WOULD BE DIFFICULT. HE CONCLUDED FORCIBLY THAT, IF FRENCH DRAFT WERE TO BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT CHANGES, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE NO ATLANTIC DECLARATION AT ALL.

5. I RESPONDED THAT WE REGARD FRENCH DRAFT AS A SIGNIFICANT DOCUMENT FROM WHICH IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO WORK--NOT A FINAL DOCUMENT. I NOTED THAT, AS AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD POINTED OUT IN THE NATO COUNCIL ON OCTOBER 10, THERE ARE SEVERAL ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS THE U.S. WOULD WANT INCLUDED; IN THIS CONNECTION, I ALSO DESCRIBED SOME OF THE DOMESTIC IMPERATIVES BEHIND OUR BURDEN-SHARING INITIATIVE AND THE NEED FOR TREATING THAT SUBJECT IN THE NATO DECLARATION AS WELL. GJELLUM INTERJECTED THAT NORWAY VERY MUCH HOPES THE U.S. WILL TABLE DRAFT LANGUAGE ON BURDEN SHARING.

6. VIBE SOMEWHAT SOFTENED GJELLUM'S OPENING REMARKS BY
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SAYING THE NORWEGIANS AGREE THAT IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE FOR TACTICAL REASONS TO ENCOURAGE THE FRENCH AND USE THEIR DRAFT AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE. "WE TAKE GREAT ENCOURAGEMENT," VIBE SAID, FROM AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD'S OCTOBER 10 STATEMENT, WHICH ALSO NOTES THE OMISSION OF REFERENCE TO HARMEL REPORT OBJECTIVES FROM THE FRENCH DRAFT. BESIDE THE COLD WAR TONE, VIBE SAID, NORWAY IS TROUBLED BY THE GAULLIST VIEW-POINT OF THE FRENCH DRAFT. DESPITE ITS REFERENCE TO U.S.-EUROPEAN INTERDEPENDENCE, IT SUGGESTS THAT EUROPEANS HAVE SEPARATE DEFENSE PROBLEMS--AN IDEA THAT MIGHT NOT PROMOTE COHESION AND COULD ENCOURAGE THE IDEA OF A SEPARATE EUROPEAN DEFENSE FORCE.

7. VIBE REVIEWED HIS REPORT OF THE SUGGESTIONS MADE BY AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD ON OCTOBER 10 AND SAID THE NORWEGIANS AGREE WITH ALL OF THEM, INCLUDING THE NEED FOR A REFERENCE TO BURDEN SHARING. THEY WOULD HAVE HOPED, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. WOULD ALSO HAVE SUGGESTED A REFERENCE TO SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE NORWEGIANS DO NOT WISH TO BE PROVOCATIVE, VIBE SAID, AND THEY REALIZE GREECE AND PORTUGAL WILL NOT SIGN A DOCUMENT THAT IS DIRECTED AGAINST THEM; NONETHELESS, THERE IS BROAD

SUPPORT WITHIN NATO FOR INCLUDING THESE PRINCIPLES IN THE DECLARATION, IF ONLY BY REITERATING THE FORMULATIONS FROM THE PREAMBLE OF THE NATO TREATY, AND THE NORWEGIANS HOPE THIS CAN BE DONE IN AN INNOCUOUS WAY.

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8. VIBE ALSO REITERATED THE NORWEGIAN VIEW THAT THE NATO DECLARATION SHOULD CALL FOR COOPERATION IN SOLVING COMMERCIAL, ENERGY, AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS. DCM ASKED HOW THIS, AND GJELLUM'S EARLIER REFERENCE TO NATO'S BROADER PURPOSES--WHICH APPEARED CONSISTENT WITH EFFORT TO GIVE NATO A MORE PEACEFUL IMAGE--SQUARED WITH THE UNENTHUSIASTIC NORWEGIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD CCMS; VIBE ADMITTED
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BUT DID NOT RESOLVE THE SEEMING INCONSISTENCY. NATO'S MAIN TASKS, HE SAID, ARE SECURITY, DETENTE, AND POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS, AND THE PROBLEMS JUST MENTIONED MUST CONTINUE TO BE SOLVED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS, NOT BY NATO AS SUCH. NEVERTHELESS, THE NATO DECLARATION SHOULD STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATING--IN THE PROPER FORUMS--TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS, AND NATO MINISTERS AT THEIR TWICE-YEARLY SESSIONS SHOULD ALSO CONSULT WITH REGARD TO OTHER UNSOLVED PROBLEMS (SUCH AS MONETARY DIFFICULTIES).

9. AS A FINAL POINT, VIBE SAID HE THOUGHT THE NATO DECLARATION SHOULD ALSO PLEDGE A MORE GENEROUS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. HE FIRST SUGGESTED THIS MIGHT BE DONE IN THE CONTEXT OF "PROMOTING EAST-WEST DETENTE AND THEREBY MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO BE MORE GENEROUS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES." WHEN I OBSERVED THAT THIS MIGHT BE TAKEN AS AN ENDORSEMENT OF GROMYKO'S UN GENERAL PROPOSAL FOR INCREASING AID BY REDUCING DEFENSE SPENDING, VIBE READILY EXPRESSED AGREEMENT AND SAID IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO TREAT THE SUBJECT INDEPENDENTLY, AS IN THE EC DRAFT DECLARATION.

10. I ASKED WHETHER THE NORWEGIANS WERE SAYING THEY REALLY CONSIDERED THE FRENCH DRAFT IMPOSSIBLE AS A DOCUMENT TO WORK FROM. VIBE RESPONDED, SAYING THEY WOULD PREFER THE CANADIAN DRAFT AND KNEW THE CANADIANS FELT VERY MUCH LET DOWN AT HAVING THEIR DRAFT PUT ASIDE. THE NORWEGIANS ARE, HOWEVER, PREPARED TO ADMIT THAT THERE MAY BE SOME TACTICAL ADVANTAGE IN ACCOMMODATING THE FRENCH, IF THIS CAN REASONABLY BE DONE, AND IN USING THEIR DRAFT AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE--PROVIDED IT IS CLEAR THAT "POINT OF DEPARTURE" IS WHAT IS MEANT. THE RISK, HE SAID, IS THAT ONE CAN BECOME A PRISONER OF ONE'S OWN ACQUIESCENCE--THAT THE FRENCH MIGHT SIMPLY WITHDRAW FROM THE DIALOGUE IF WE PRESS THEM FOR MAJOR REVISIONS AFTER HAVING APPEARED TO ACCEPT THEIR DRAFT IN PRINCIPLE.

11. COMMENT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL'S CONSULTATIONS ON OCTOBER 17 WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND MORE FULLY TO SOME OF THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY GJELLUM AND VIBE, WITH REGARD BOTH TO THE EC DRAFT AND TO THE STATUS OF OUR THINKING ON THE NATO DECLARATION. THERE ARE TWO
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POINTS IN PARTICULAR ON WHICH I HOPE WE CAN BE FORTHCOMING:

A. DISTASTE OF THE NORDICS IN PARTICULAR FOR LESS DEMOCRATIC REGIMES TO THE SOUTH WILL HAVE TO BE FACED SOONER OR LATER IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS. AS POINTED OUT BEFORE, FEELINGS ON THE SUBJECT RUN DEEP IN NORWAY. I THINK WE WOULD BE WISE TO TAKE UP VIBE'S OFFER AND QUICKLY TABLE A PARAGRAPH THAT OUR SOUTHERN FLANK ALLIES COULD ALSO

LIVE WITH. THERE IS A DANGER THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT
TAKING OFFICE ON OCTOBER 16 WILL FEEL UNDER PRESSURE TO
TABLE MORE UNCOMPROMISING LANGUAGE, THUS PROVOKING A
SHOWDOWN IN NATO.

B. BY URGING COOPERATION IN SUCH MATTERS AS TRADE AND
ENVIRONMENT, THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT HAS SOUGHT TO CONVINCE
THE PUBLIC THAT STAYING OUT OF THE EC DID NOT REALLY LEAVE
NORWAY ISOLATED. BRATTELI FACES THE SAME PUBLIC RELATIONS
PROBLEM. VIBE'S REMARKS SUGGEST THAT THE PROBLEM IS MOSTLY
COSMETIC AND THAT NORWAY DOES NOT WISH NATO TO GET REALLY
INVOLVED. HERE AGAIN I HOPE WE CAN ACCOMMODATE THEM WITH
SUITABLE LANGUAGE, THAT THE FRENCH AND OTHERS CAN ACCEPT,
WHICH WOULD SEEM TO MAKE NORWAY AND OTHER EC OUTSIDERS
PARTICIPANTS IN A BROAD DIALOGUE ON MANY ISSUES WITHIN THE
ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. THIS WILL REMAIN IMPORTANT FROM
OUR STANDPOINT EVEN IF THE NEW NORWEGIAN LABOR GOVERNMENT
(WHOSE LEADERS HAVE BEEN INCLINED TO EMPHASIZE NATO'S
CIRCUMSCRIBED DEFENSE/DETENTE ROLE) SHOULD STOP TALKING
ABOUT THE NEED FOR REFERENCES IN THE DECLARATION TO
COOPERATION IN OTHER FIELDS. BYRNE

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ANKARA
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